1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

other scavengers. Nowadays, all hunting activities are carried on illegally with the risk of being punished if caught by the police.

Weapons are the bow and poisoned arrows carried in a quiver. Knives are used to skin game and to make springes. Spears have never been used. The Dorobo used to have hunting dogs, but in the North Tindiret Forest the breed seems to have died out, though it existed in 1927. They have two kinds of trap: (i) The pit trap, *ngurot*, formerly used for buffalo, consisting of a pit 8 ft. long, 3 ft. wide, and 6 ft. deep, with wooden spikes set in the bottom. (ii) The springe or snare, *porosot*, which consists, briefly, of a springy stick bent over, with a noose attached to it connected with a platform: the arrangement is such that when an animal treads on the platform its head enters the noose, and the pressure on the platform releases the springy stick, which flies up, tightening the noose, and holding the animal suspended. Such traps can be made in less than ten minutes. This type is used chiefly to catch antelopes, but leopards have been caught in them. Cross-bar traps with a drop-spear were not used by the Kipkurerek Dorobo.

The only hunting taboo recorded is that the night before he goes out hunting a man must abstain from sexual intercourse. This does not apply to the setting of traps.

As regards land rights, the forest was divided into districts, *koret*, pl. *korosuek*, and in his district each man had an hereditary block of land in which he hunted, set traps, kept his honey-barrels, and collected wild food. Occupation rights were recognized by public opinion, and trespass on a man's forest area, i.e., deliberate entry in order to start hunting without permission or the promise of a piece of meat, might result in the trespasser's death at the hands of the owner, who would then have to pay compensation for homicide. Theft of game from a trap is said never to have occurred, not only because the thief might be killed, but because his belly would swell to a great size and he would die after eating meat stolen from a trap.

Bees

Honey is to the Dorobo what milk is to the Nandi: it is "sacred," and its supply must be protected by the observance of taboos. Fruit and blood must not be eaten on the same day as honey (though meat may be eaten); when a comb is emptied, it must be carefully hidden in the undergrowth; and after eating honey a Dorobo cleans his hands in earth, not (like the Nandi) by wiping them with leaves.

The Dorobo recognize four varieties of bee: *sekemik*, the honey-producing kind; *imeiik*, solitary bees which live in trees; *kosomek*, earth bees, which live in the ground; and *kiptulonik*, mason bees, which live in cells made of earth and particles of stone cemented together by their own saliva. The Dorobo divide the honey-bees, *sekemik*, into three kinds: the queen, *kamet ap sekemik*, "the mother of the bees": the workers, called simply *sekemik*, considered to be males, which make honey by eating the "sap" (*pek*) of flowers and then vomiting it into the empty honey-combs; and the drones, *kapurenik*, considered to be idle females which do nothing useful.

Hives or honey-barrels (*pasanet*) are made either of slats of wood tied together, with circular wooden end-pieces; or of the two halves of a piece of log split longitudinally and tied together. They are set in trees, and when a new hive is put up, the owner calls the bees, in a high-pitched tone, to come and occupy it: "Bees, bees, from all the country, come here now, and pour in honey, pour in honey." Bees are said to recognize their owners by their body-smell, and do not sting them when taking honey. Certainly taking honey does not appear to be a painful or dangerous process to the Dorobo owner. Theft of honey from a barrel is considered very low, and a man might kill a thief, though he would have to pay compensation for homicide.

Honey is an important article in Dorobo economy: it is eaten as food, made into an intoxicant, used for ritual purification, and it forms an article of commerce.

1: Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

legs straight and hands crossed on the breast. Babies are also laid out for the hyenas, though if there is a dung-heap, they are buried there.

Witchcraft

Witches, *ponik* (defined as among the Nandi, p. 30), may be of either sex; females are said to be more common, though in 1939 the Dorobo said there were no witches at all in the three districts of Kelpui, Kipkorom, and Sosoiyo, and certainly no trace of witchcraft was encountered. Formerly, in cases of witchcraft where the witch's identity was unknown, the Dorobo went to a Nandi diviner, *saheyuot*, and on her identity becoming known the witch was required to oil the victim on the face, breast, and belly with the fat of a she-goat. If she refused, she was tied to a tree by a thong drawn tightly round her forehead and flogged till she agreed.

Affinity with Wild Animals

Possessing a " hunting outlook," the attitude of the Dorobo to wild animals is unlike that of the African to whom hunting is at most of secondary importance. They seem to be closer to the wild life round them, perhaps because they are wild men themselves. The conversation of Dorobo going through the forest turns quickly to the wild life there, for they have what they and the Nandi call *comiet*, " affinity," with the beasts of the forest. This was described in a text, in which a Dorobo said: " The Dorobo know the spoor of all the animals, and they like to see the animals. The animals are not bad, for we and they all dwell in the forest together. The intelligence of animals is not like that of people, but it is not very different, for animals also are intelligent. All animals of the forest are alike, though we eat some and not others, because we the Dorobo and they the animals all live side by side in the forest."

Musical Instruments

The Dorobo have no musical instruments, and they seldom sing or dance. They used to have water-buck horns which were blown to call people together in the forest.

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

knowledge of roots, leaves, berries and tubers of all kinds, on many of which he is capable of supporting life.

Various kinds of honey are obtained in large quantities and they command a ready sale among the Masai, who are, for the most part, too indolent to look for honey themselves. The *Mósiro* are greatly assisted by the honey-bird [1] in their search and do not appear to suffer much inconvenience when stung. The honey is generally removed by hand, the despoiler working placidly in a cloud of angry, stinging bees. Occasionally a tree has to be felled, and in some cases the honey may be so inaccessible that fire has to be resorted to for the purpose of driving the bees away. Thick clouds of smoke are readily produced by the use of the *Endules* [2] which every *Mósiroi* carries in his quiver.

With regard to the dress of the men, the *Mósiro* are seldom to be found wearing skins. I have seen *Mósiro* wearing a single garment of rough bark-cloth, knotted at the shoulder in the manner of the Masai blanket, but as a general rule their dress consists of a ragged strip of "Amerikani" or blanket, weather-worn in the extreme, tied over one shoulder and confined at the waist by the sword-belt. They say that they no longer wear skins because the latter make too much noise in the bush and lessen their chances of approaching close to game. The women wear a skin garment [3] of the same kind as that worn by the Masai women. They also wear anklets and armlets of wire, but the heavy iron necklaces and *'surutya* earrings of the Masai women are seldom, if ever, seen. It may

[1] *Cuculus Indicator*: a small drab bird about the size of the thrush. It has a short, but very sharp, bill, a white underside and black-striped wings. Its distinctive twittering is often heard in the bush, particularly in the vicinity of bush paths and other places it knows are likely to be frequented by humans. It flies from tree to tree, keeping up its twittering all the time, and is obviously anxious to be followed. I have followed this bird several times, and although honey was not always found at the end of the trail, it invariably led us to places where bees were or had been some time before. The *Mósiro* always answer the cries of this bird, even when they have no opportunity of following it. There are many legends about the honey-bird, which, I think, is to be met with throughout East Africa. The Swahili call this bird *Sayo*; the Masai call it *En-jokóroi*; the *Mósiro* name it *Chekeandes*; the Nandi, *Chepkecha*.

[2] See the section devoted to Dorobo arms and equipment.

[3] *Ol-okesendi* (Masai).

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLÓ Dorobo FLÓ

enormously developed maxillary muscles. Individual physical peculiarities are not readily apparent when pigtails are almost universally grown and bodies are smeared with red ochre. The Nilotic peculiarity of standing on one leg has been observed in the *Mésiro*, but it is not seen so often as in the case of the Masai. I have been unable to discover any examples of pronounced steatopygia in the women, who are, usually, more prolific than the Masai women, and who are prized by the Masai for this reason. The *Mésiro* are a hardy race, and even at a comparatively advanced age the men retain great powers of activity and endurance.

The older generation (in common with the Masai elders) pays little attention to its personal appearance. *Mésiro* of a certain age would seem to be less under Masai influence than are the young men and are readily distinguishable from the Masai at first sight. (It might, perhaps, be as well to modify this by saying that an eye unaccustomed to looking on Masai will often fail to detect any difference between them and Dorobo of any type. Recently, I made the experiment of asking two Europeans from the coast to separate the Masai from the Dorobo in a mixed gathering. Each of them made a different selection and each of them was wrong in the majority of cases.)

In hunting, tracking, bush-lore and forest-craft the *Mésiroi* is, in my opinion, without equal when in familiar country. He seems to know instinctively what an animal will do under given circumstances, and inability to follow its track will seldom result in the pursuit being abandoned. If the ground is stony or if the passage of other animals has obliterated the trail, the *Mésiroi* will go quietly forward and will eventually, by a combination of luck, instinct and knowledge of the country and the habits of the quarry, pick up the spoor again. I have seen this happen many times. The *Mésiroi* knows when extreme caution must be observed and when noise does not matter; he is never at a loss for a vantage-point and, on the whole, is tenacious and plucky in the pursuit of dangerous game. He can summon lion to a kill by producing a weird, muffled, nasal cry (it is supposed to represent the bleating of a goat, though it has little resemblance to that noise, to my

J. Linguistics 0-5 (c.a. 1926) 1927-28
FLA Dorobo FLA

224 835 mind) made by placing the forefingers on either side of the nose and calling into the hollow formed by the palms of the joined hands.[1]

224 411 The *Móiro* are fast and accurate bowmen at close range, and there are few of them who have not accounted for more than one lion with this weapon. A *Móiroi* at present in my employ is credited with having killed thirteen lions thus, three of them with one arrow. The arrows, of course, are poisoned,[2] and are discharged with a force that would, I feel sure, excite the admiration of a European toxophilite. A curious, crouching attitude is adopted when drawing the bow-string and the archer faces his target, not adopting the more usual position of standing at a right angle to it. The killing of a lion with the bow is not regarded as an event of especial importance and the carcass is often left to rot in its skin.

261 If trouble is in the wind, the *Móiroi* will always make for the haven he knows best—the bush. There he will live, apparently quite independent of the products of civilization, and in nowise inconvenienced by a total lack of water, for weeks at a stretch, returning (when the trouble has blown over) with a skin bottle or bag bulging with honey. I could not understand the apparent ability of the *Móiro* to live for long periods in country I knew to be waterless until I had been introduced to what they laughingly said was "the dry-season water." This is an enormous tuber[3] with a skin like the domestic potato. Under the skin is a milky, sticky layer about half-an-inch in thickness. This surrounds the inner core, which is of the appearance and consistency of a raw potato, is slightly fibrous and very moist. When this is chewed (the residue is not generally, but may be, swallowed), it gives great relief to thirst. Squeezing or pounding one of these tubers over a cooking-pot will result in the accumulation of a surprising amount of quite

[1] My predecessor at Kibaya shot two male lions which were "called" to a kill in this way by the *Móiro*. He sat beneath a tree at a place where two lions had recently killed; the *Móiro* mounted the tree and began calling. After a short time, one lion came to the kill (a goat) and was shot. The second lion came quite soon afterwards and was duly given his quietus.

[2] See the section devoted to Dorobo arms.

[3] This tuber, called *Kichwembwe*, is also known to the Kitóy Masai and is called by them *O-kiombekwe*. This is a corruption of the *Móiro* name, and the Masai freely admit that they learned of its existence from the Dorobo.

[124]

Tanganyika G-3 (Jan. 1926) 1927-28
FLA Dorobo FLA

Some *Mŏiŏni* Folk-Tales, Folk-Lore and Superstitions

"*Epito ilondo kitŏ*" [1]

Thus answered a *Mŏiŏni* Dorobo whom I rallied on his silence and attitude of strained attention during a halt by the wayside when on safari in the remoter areas of the Tanganyika Masai Reserve.

The bush and what can be wrested from it—wood for his bow and arrows, honey for his wife and children and for barter, the bark of the *Ol-mahuiŏ* [2] tree, fibre for plaiting into his hair, and last (but most important of all) the skins and the meat of game animals—these things bound the horizon of the Dorobo. It is therefore not to be wondered at that such folk-lore tales as exist among the Dorobo at the present time are chiefly concerned with animals and animal life. Similarly, the paramount interest in life of the Masai is apparent from a study of the extant folk-tales of that tribe, which deal, to a great extent, with cattle and other domestic stock. The tales one hears told to-day are, in all probability, but a few of the more easily-remembered of a host of stories now forgotten for all time.

The following examples have been selected from a large number of stories told by the *Mŏiŏni* themselves and admitted by the Masai to be Dorobo in origin.

The Dikdik and the Elephant.—The dikdik, when out walking in the bush one day, chanced to fall over a piece of elephant-dung in his path. This made him very angry and he said: "Thus am I inconvenienced by the dung of the elephant! I am so small that I cannot hope to inconvenience him in like manner, but I will arrange for all the members of my tribe to come and make use of one place, and thus in time the heap may grow big enough to trip a passing elephant." This is the reason why piles of dikdik-dung, showing that many of these animals have used the same place, are often seen in the middle of a bush path. (A story very like this is told by certain Coastal tribes.)

The Tortoise, the Hare and the Hyæna.—These three made an agreement to rob a rich snake. The latter had cattle and

[1] "I am listening to something in the bush." Cf. the Masai *Ee-dim*, bush.

[2] *Albizzia anthelmintica*, according to the authority quoted in Hollis. It is used as a remedy for worms and to produce a large appetite. It is highly prized by the Masai and is scarce in the Kiteto locations.

2:Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

This makes the latter feel jealous. He hates the eland on account of his superiority in size and strength, and to show that he is every bit as good as the eland, he has grown a long tuft of hair on his forehead, just the same as an eland bull. The eland has a habit of rubbing his forehead in his urine.[1] This causes the tuft on his forehead to grow strong and thick. The dikdik follows this custom also, partly to increase the growth of his frontal tuft and partly in order to prove that anything an eland can do, he can do as well.

The Wart-Hog and the Lion.[2]—(About four miles south-east of Kibaya there is a curious cave in a bank beside the river bed. The floods of years have washed away the earth from beneath a flat, granite-like rock outcrop which forms the bank in one place, and the cavity thus made (at no point more than three or three-and-a-half feet from floor to ceiling) has often been used in the past as an *Ol-pul*[3] by the Masai. While taking shelter in this cave one day during a downpour of rain, a Dorobo told me the following tale.)

"A wart-hog once came here to rest. Finding the place warm and comfortable, he lay down and was speedily fast asleep. He awoke to find that a lion had entered the cave and was advancing on him with the intent to kill him, for wart-hogs and lions are deadly enemies. The wart-hog brought all his wits to bear on the matter of making his escape, for he greatly feared the lion, who was very big and strong. Suddenly an idea came to his mind, and standing on his hind-legs, he pretended to support the roof of the cave with his tusks, calling out meantime in a frightened voice: 'Lion, lion, come and help me to hold up the roof, as it is falling and we shall both be killed!' The lion, deceived, hastened to the spot and

[1] This fact has, I understand, been authenticated. I have never seen eland performing the act, but an examination of the frontal tuft of a mature bull eland will lead one to believe in the assertion. *Cf. The Journal of a Disappointed Man* (W. N. P. Barbellion), p. 191: "*The common Eland is known to micturate on the tuft of hair on the crown of its head, and it does this habitually, when lying down, by bending its head around and down—apparently because of the aroma, perhaps of sexual importance during mating time, as it is a habit of the male alone.*"

[2] *Cf. Knap*: Hollis: *Masai Language and Folklore*, pp. 256-258.

[3] Slaughter-house. The place in the woods where the Masai warriors go to eat meat.

2:Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

have lived in the country of the Kittito Masai, since they are stated to have been the precursors of the Masai in this part of the world.

I was unable to elicit any folk-tales from the *Aramanik*, who say that they know no stories or legends except those they have learned from the Masai. It is possible that further efforts in this direction might meet with better success. The *Aramanik* are not as friendly or as ready to discuss their own affairs as are the cheerful, happy-go-lucky *Mósiro*.

Many Masai superstitions and superstitious practices are to be found among the Dorobo. There are, however, certain customs and observances of a superstitious nature practised only by the Dorobo. Of the following three examples, the last two given are in this category.

The *Mósiro* will not kill a python. They say it is a hunter of meat, as are they themselves. Furthermore, if it be killed, the ground where it dies and where its blood is split is ever afterwards fatal to cattle grazing there.[1] No explanation is given of this, and it would seem worthy of note that the Dorobo are exceptionally quick and skilful killers of all other snakes.

When following a native path or a road, if a Dorobo comes to the place where the track of a snake crosses the path, he will never step over it without first kicking up the sand or earth in order to break the continuity of the snake's track. This is done in order to avert evil, and is stated to be the only efficacious way of ensuring that the snake in question will not eventually kill the man who has crossed its path.[2]

If a Dorobo has been robbed and if the thief cannot be found, the following procedure is sometimes resorted to. The man who has suffered the loss heats his sword in the fire until it is red and then, plunging it into the earth, he says: "The thief shall die to-morrow." This is regarded as a very bad practice and is seldom indulged in, as the injured party, no matter how much he may have lost, knows that he will become extremely unpopular as a result of his action.

It seems likely that in a few years' time there will be no *Balaága* and no *Kinyalaágat* Dorobo. As I have said elsewhere, it is now almost impossible to find *Balaága* or *Kinya-*

[1] See Hollis: *The Masai*, p. 80.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 79.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FLÓ Dorobo FLÓ

The thunder, *Ilat*, is he who produces rain, and the rainbow, *comsisiriet*, is his arm, *no neiyo pôk*, which draws up water for "him". Long ago, according to a Dorobo myth, *Ilat* was a man, and one day a Dorobo met him standing on a rock on Tindiret Hill. And because the Dorobo thought him bad, for he brought mist which hid the sun and spoiled the hunting, he shot *Ilat* with a poisoned arrow, and so *Ilat* fled thundering to the sky, where he has been ever since.

Another Dorobo myth tells that once there lived on the earth some elephants and a Dorobo, and *Ilat* lived with them. One day the Dorobo was hungry and made poison from the *keliot* bush [6]. In the night he stuck a poisoned arrow into one of the elephants, and in the morning it was dead. When *Ilat* saw it, he said: "Who has been killing my donkeys?" The Dorobo cut up the dead elephant and dried the meat, and thus had food for many months. When it was finished he killed another elephant in the same way, and again *Ilat* said: "Who is killing my donkeys?" Then the Dorobo said to him: "I killed them, because I was hungry". Then *Ilat* said to himself: "I am afraid. If I stay here, the Dorobo will kill me too". So he called out to *Asista* to take him up to the sky, and he left the Dorobo with the elephants and went up to the sky. And to this day the Dorobo kill elephants with *keliot* poison, like that man of old [7].

Besides *Asista*, *Arawa*, and *Ilat*, the other inhabitants of the Unseen World are the spirits, which are of two kinds, those of the dead, who are on the whole good, and other spirits, which have never been human and are evil. Both are called *cesowiloi* [8], and this term includes the beings called *oiik* by the Nandi, the spirits of the dead, and those called *musambuanik*, the evil spirits. Both these words are used by the Dorobo. One statement made about them was to the effect that *musambuanik kopotok oiik, akenge tukul, kikure cesowiloi*, "the *musambuanik* are not different from the *oiik*, we call them both *cesowiloi*", because though the *musambuanik* are always bad, the *oiik* can at times be bad too. Nevertheless, the Dorobo draw a distinction between the two kinds, and refer to them as *oiik* (the good) and *musambuanik* [9] (the bad).

The spirits of the dead live in the *koret ap cesowiloi* which is underground. "We haven't been there", said Arap Cepsuku, "so we don't know anything about it". But the spirits are there, and they come thence from time to time to visit the living, not only in dreams to pregnant women, but actually into people's huts, to which they travel inside the bodies of snakes. When a snake comes into a hut at night, it is not killed, but some honey is offered to it with the words: *Ui, Anam, i oiindet*, "Go away, So-and-so, for

[6] Acokanthera Schimperi.

[7] It will be noticed that there is a similarity between this and the Nandi myth given by Hollis, Nandi, p. 111, and that the myths printed in JRAI 57. 1927. p. 448 and Hollis, Masai, p. 346 are of a similar pattern. In the latter, the man is a Dorobo.

[8] The full form of this word is *cesowilo* (*cesowilot*), pl. *cesowiloi* (*cesowilôk*). It seems to be the same word as the *asuloi* which Maasam gives as the Keyo word for both good and evil spirits (Cliff Dwellers of Kenya, 1927).

[9] This word, which the Dorobo have borrowed from the Nandi, has in turn been borrowed by the latter from the Bantu Kavirondo *mwazambwa*, "spirit".

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

[775] [782] [825] you are a spirit". A man who kills a snake at night in his hut need not necessarily become ill as a result (as the Nandi believe he will), but the ancestor whose spirit was in the snake will show his anger by never going to see the man again and transferring his attentions to some other member of the family. This would no doubt result in bad luck, for the offender would be continually conscious of what he had done. Another account, however, which I think more nearly represents the common belief, is that after offering a snake honey-and-water or milk, the owner of the hut says to it: *Ui si nyon tun ingoii lakuet*, "Go and return when (my wife) bears a child", so that the name [553] of the spirit may be given to the child. According to this account, if a man should kill a snake at night in his hut, he will probably be ill the next day [782] unless he pours some honey-wine on the floor where the snake had been in [753] the night. This should free him from the danger of illness. Snakes seen in the daytime may be killed without fear.

The spirits also appear in daylight as shadows (*uruet*) and they may make their presence known by slight noises, like the sound of a stick being broken. When a man sees an unaccountable shadow, or hears a noise for which he can see no cause, he concludes that it was a spirit which has come to see him, or perhaps just come up to take a walk on earth. But he need do nothing, nor need he be afraid, for at such times the spirits do no harm.

[204] [782] Before setting out to hunt, a man asks the spirits to help him:

Cesowilōk, ohōnec tiony ne kipare,
Spirits, give-us animal which we-may-kill;
ohōnec kumik si kiipiiye.
Give-us honey enough-to-satisfy-us.

Offerings of honey-and-water, *lokomek*, are sometimes poured on the ground from gourds with a request to the spirits to provide food in times of scarcity. Such offerings are made by people at their own homes when their affairs are going badly:

Cesowiloi, opiiyec omdit,
Spirits, fill-us-with food,
si kiipiiye sapot.
That we-may-be-filled-with health.

[787] [755] When a man is very ill, he sometimes sees what he takes to be another man lying beside him for a short time, who is invisible to other people. When he has recovered, he realizes that this other man was a spirit who had come to help him to get well, and to take into himself the sickness: *Konyon si korlpe, korn ne korne cito ne mioni, si kosop*, "He came to guard him, and lay where the sick man lay, to make him well".

776 Evil spirits sometimes attack people when asleep and make them ill. They also play tricks on people and do spiteful and irritating things to them. A man is walking, for example, and suddenly catches his foot, as he thinks, in a liana drawn tight across the path, and falls. But he finds nothing there, and realizes that it was done by an evil spirit. In 1927 I was one night encamped on the edge of the forest between Kipkorom and Timopo, with

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

789 the forces of nature, a belief which (I am convinced) does have the effect of giving him confidence in his ability to deal with an imperfectly understood world. All those parts of human life in which there is an element of uncertainty or danger can be "controlled" by means of magic, not always completely, but with enough coincidental result to confirm the belief that what has been done is the right thing to do and to keep on doing.

224 178 The main occupation of the Dorobo was hunting. Unfortunately this is one of the things we know least about, because owing to external pressure the Dorobo have had to give up real hunting and now confine themselves to trapping. It was therefore impossible to get hold of anything more than a few allusions to the hunting magic of the old days. On the one hand, fear [648] of the government has undoubtedly sealed the lips of some of the older Dorobo, for hunting is now forbidden, and they were afraid, quite mistakenly, that if they talked about it, they might get into trouble, as people might think they were still hunting; and on the other hand, ignorance prevents the younger men from talking about it, for most of them have never hunted 224 in the real sense of the word. But there was hunting magic. There was, for 789 example, not only a seasonal division of hunting activities, but a magical division as well. In the dry weather people used to hunt far afield with bow and arrow; in the wet weather they set traps close to home. Now from the magical point of view it is the bow and arrow work that needs help, for in it there is an element of danger to the hunter, and of uncertainty as to whether he will make a kill. In trapping, the process is mechanical, a mere matter of being able to make a trap. All that need be done is to set the trap and wait: sooner or later it will catch something without any danger to the trapper. So when a man was going out with bow and arrow he had to abstain from sexual intercourse immediately before setting out on an expedition, lest the act should put him into mystical danger. Prayers and the observation of omens before going out gave a man further confidence. But when setting traps this abstinence is not necessary.

783 We have already come across a good deal of magic. The forms of 789 purification after killing people, for instance, are magical as much as religious; so is the cleansing of women after childbirth; and all sorts of things people do in daily life are nothing else but manifestations of the belief in the efficacy 231 of magic. When a man puts a new honey-barrel into a tree and calls out 789 to the bees to enter it, his call is as much a magical utterance as a mere invitation to enter his barrel.

Omens include the following:

787 If the birds called *kiptiltil* and *kiphunkun* or *kiphonkon* (both species ● 825 of woodpecker) are seen or heard on the right hand side when starting out [224] to hunt or on a journey, a man will be successful; but if they are on the left, he will be unsuccessful.

If a snake crosses the path from right to left, having first been seen lying still on the side of the path, it is a bad sign, and a man should return home and wait till the next day. But a snake which is seen in the act of crossing a path is of no significance, "for it also is travelling".

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

an elaborate ritual will not be built up to increase or protect it. What is expected, and what one does indeed find, is that the hunters will take what steps they can to keep on the right side of those beings which can hinder them or destroy their technical skill.

Wild animals which supply both food and the raw material for technical and domestic processes have social value, and by 1939 cattle and goats were beginning to acquire it, though they were so recently introduced as Dorobo possessions that very little in the way of ritual practices concerning them had developed. Wild animals of almost every kind are of some use to the Dorobo, and while it cannot be asserted that there is actual ritual expression towards many of them, there is nevertheless a not very clearly defined or indeed definable feeling of nearness, almost of kinship with them. This was revealed by listening to conversations between Dorobo as they went through the forest, and demonstrated the intensity of their interest in the animal life of the place, as well as their immediate appreciation of almost invisible signs which the Nandi (and of course myself) passed without even noticing. Although the animals of the forest are wild, and the property of no man, in the sense that cattle are property, the Dorobo feel a proprietary interest in them, especially when they are in a man's own section of the forest. It is clear that they have a feeling for the animals which may be described as "fondness", the nearest (though not very adequate) English rendering of the untranslateable word *comiet*; and that they regard them as intelligent beings, not on the human level, but none the less worthy of respect and friendliness. They are spoken of without loathing, disgust or contempt; and whereas the reaction of the average Nandi to the sight of a buck or its spoor is merely a gleam of greed and lust for meat, the reaction of the Dorobo is much more than that. He no doubt thinks it would be nice to eat, but at the same time he wants to know all about it, where it came from, where it was going, and so forth, and even if he has no intention of hunting it, he will examine the ground to find out all he can, for although only an animal it is one of the living things which share the forest with him. One Dorobo did in fact try to describe his attitude to wild life in the following words:

Sue keliek cepo tukul. Come Okiek si kosuwen tiouik. Ma yaacen tiouik, amu kimenye tukul kuahenge samakta.
They-know the-feet which-are-of all. They-like the-Dorobo that they-may-see the-animals. Not bad the-animals, for we-dwell-in all together the-forest.
Ngomnot ap tiouik ma uu nepo pic, ako ma loo, amu women ok icek tiouik. Kerke tukul tiond ap samak. Kiome alak, makiome alak; ako kicome tukul. Ki po samak, ok icek ce po samak.
Intelligence of the-animals not like that-which-is-of men, but not far, for intelligent also they the-animals. Alike every animal of forest. We-eat some, we-eat-not others; but we-like all. We-are of forest, and they which(-are) of forest.

(The Dorobo know the spoor of all the animals, and they like also to see the animals. The animals are not bad, for we all dwell in the forest together. The intelligence of the animals is not like that of people, but it is not very

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

825 different, for they also are intelligent. Every animal of the forest is alike [10]; we eat some, others we do not; but we like them all. We are of the forest, and they also are of the forest.)

Wild animals for the Dorobo have personality, not the kind that is expressed in the folk-tales of pastoral and agricultural Africans in which animals speak and behave like humans, but a real kind of personality that human beings like the Dorobo can respond to.

231 183 182 Bees, though not themselves sacred, are analogous to cattle among the Nandi, and their product has great social value and hence strong ritual value. Besides giving honey with its many uses, bees provide an occupation which is less strenuous than hunting and can thus be continued by older men who are still reasonably active but not active enough to stand all the rigours of a hunter's life.

824 182 183 Edible plants have social value, but since under existing conditions there is no scarcity of them, there is no ritual relationship between them and men.

614 [186] 182 183 The clan has a social value not found among the Nandi, for the Dorobo are not a tribe in the same sense that the Nandi are, and although the expression *ki Okiek*, "we are Dorobo", means a good deal, it has not the same significance that the similar expression *ki Nandi*, "we are Nandi", gives when said by a Nandi. The real unit of the Dorobo is the clan, the significance and solidarity of which we have already tried to explain; and the effect of all that the clan means to the Dorobo is that it has an immense groupvalue, being the element that ensures horde solidarity.

776 182 [801] **Personification and well-being.** Rain and its inevitable concomitant the thunder are perhaps more striking in a forest than the sun, and it is reasonable that they should be personified in one figure: "*Ilet* was a man". This is probably an original Dorobo belief, for to the Nandi *Ilet* has the form of a bird. This personification expresses and fulfills the Dorobo need of personal contact with a dangerous element, and explains the actions of the Dorobo whom SIR CLAUD HOLLIS saw defying the "rain-god" [11]. The notion of *Asis* is much less concrete and definite, and in spite of occasional prayers to him, the conception of his functions is even less clear. Yet while *Ilet* may be regarded as the power which controls the weather, *Asis* seems to be the moving spirit behind everything, with the spirits of the dead as intermediaries between man and 'nature'. It is plain, however, that the well-being of the horde is maintained by keeping on the right side of these powers, and that the avoidance of public delicts is necessary to prevent disaster to the horde. Public delicts thus in one sense come under the head of religion, for their commission entails the breaking of the ritual relationship between man and

[10] That is, although some animals (the human kind or Dorobo) are more intelligent than others, and although the human kind eat some of the others but not all, nevertheless they are all alike, human and non-human, in that they all live side by side in the forest.

[11] Man 1909. 101.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

313 *Rerendet* (euphorbia candelabrum) : honey-barrels.
824 *Mocet:* honey-barrels.
Oltamiyoit or *Yemdit* (olive, olea chrysophylla) : fire-wood.
Enyasiek: fire-wood.
Coruet (ficus sp.) : fire-sticks.
Teet (cedar, juniperus procera) : fire-sticks.

824 (B) Plant material. The following trees and plants provide material for food, salt, medicines, and utensils[*] :

[372] *Sasiat* (dry grass) : tinder for making fire with fire-sticks.
[285] † *Tapariet:* fibre for baskets.
Sosiot (phoenix reclinata palm) : fibre for baskets.
[278] † *Tiinet:* medicine.
† *Opeito:* medicine.
Rerendet: medicine.
Lepuyuwet: medicine.
Sitotuet: medicine.
Seketet: medicine.
Usuet (ardisia sp.) : medicine.
[263] *Tepenguet* (acmilia integrifolia) : salt.
Serenguet: salt.
[273] *Rotinuet* or *Rotiot* (kigelia aethiopica) : making honey-wine.

825 (C) Skins and animal products. These include :

237 † Monkey : food ; clothing.
[291] † Antelope : food ; clothing ; bags ; quivers.
[411] Pig-gut : bow-strings.
Feathers : arrows.
† Honey : food ; wine ; ritual purposes.
Ram's fat : ritual purposes.
[583] Goats : bride-payment ; ritual purposes.
Cattle : bride-payment ; milk ; dung ; hides.
[412] Bush-buck : tails for brooms.

285 The basket most commonly made by the Dorobo is the small *kerepet*, about 6 inches deep and 6 ½ inches wide at the top. This kind of basket is used a good deal by the Dorobo themselves, and is also a frequent article [439] of sale or exchange to the Nandi : *kinapci kereponik Nandi*, "we make baskets [461] for the Nandi", as an old woman said. Dorobo women make baskets when they have nothing particular to do, just as European women knit. The materials used are fibre from the midrib of the *sosiot* palm, which is split into thin strips, and bast from a plant called *tapariet* which is used for sewing the coils of fibre with the aid of a small needle (Fig. 1).[1] The basket maker starts by splitting the *sosiot* fibre, preparing a certain length and biting it off as she

[439] [*] Things marked with a dagger † are used in the preparation of objects given to the Nandi in exchange for their products.

[1] [i.e. see category 116 & 617 - ANALYST.]

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 F16 Dorobo F16

wants it, i. e. as the loose end gets thin, a new end is shoved under the binding; the bast is kept handy in a bundle. The technique is a spiral foundation with a flat, then gradually ascending coil, of the simple over-sewn type, and bee-skep variety, the stitches being spaced out and not close together. The base of the basket is formed of six fibre coils, sewn together with bast. A hole is made with the needle, and the bast is pushed through it. At frequent intervals the fibre and the bast are moistened with the lips. After the first six coils, a slight rise is made: as each coil makes a complete circle it is slightly raised in order to make the bend between the base and the sides. When a new piece of bast is needed it is shoved right through the hole, leaving about ½ to 1 inch on the other side, and is sewn through as before. The basket maker works with lengths of bast of 6 to 12 inches. The fibre coil is of about the thickness of a pencil, and this must be maintained. When the length of fibre is reduced to about 2 ft. it begins to get thin, and some new strips must be added by chewing off a further length. The structure of the basket is thus, in effect, a continuous coil of compressed fibre, each line of coil tied to the next by stitches of bast. Sometimes the base is made of a circular piece of leather, to which the first coil is sewn, the rest of the procedure being the same as for the all-fibre basket. 285

The dressing of skins, including those used for exchange, is a simple process, for no chemical agent is applied. The newly flayed skin is tightly pegged out on the ground while it is still wet and left to dry in the sun. When dry, it becomes stiff, and in this state it is rubbed with an axe-blade held at an angle of about 20°, the blade being rubbed backwards and forwards till the skin is soft and supple. If it is to be used for a woman's garment or other object in which fur is not needed, both sides are rubbed. Skins are dressed by women. Apart from clothing, the chief objects made of skin are bags, quivers, and parts of tobacco-boxes. The material used for sewing is generally pig-gut. The needle of course has no eye, and the method of sewing is therefore to make a hole with the needle and then push the gut through it. Bags, *moloket*, are used for many purposes, including the carrying of honey and coloured earth. They are generally made of antelope skin (*e. g.* blue duiker), and unless intended for honey the fur is left on the outside. They are provided with a flap, a strap for fastening and a sling for carrying them from the shoulder. A common size is 7 ins. by 6 ½ ins., but I have seen them as big as 18 ins. by 16 ins. Tobacco-boxes are made from internodes of bamboo, but they have leather covers at each end, and a thin leather strap is sewn to the covers so that the owner can sling the box round his neck. 281 [462] [415] [283] [412] 415 [825] [276]

The nature of Dorobo life demands exchange of products with the Nandi. The most important of the products they get by exchange is ironwork; other things are pottery, beads, tobacco, cereal seeds, and cattle, and a fairly definite, though possibly fluctuating, scale of exchange values has come into existence. In 1939 some of these values were: 434 435

1 axe for 1 bagful of honey.
1 arrowhead for a gourd full of honey.
2 knives for 1 day's weeding in the blacksmith's shamba.

6:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

through the piece of comb. After eating honey a Dorobo wipes his hands in the earth to clean them; whereas a Nandi uses leaves.

One of the accusations often made against the Dorobo as forest dwellers is that by burning grass and firing trees when taking honey they cause forest fires. Apart from the fact that there is no evidence to support this allegation, for the Dorobo do not burn trees, a very good reason why they do not destroy them was given by a Dorobo who said, with reference to some people in his settlement,

Kopel lahok ap Kaplolelac susuek ap timdannyon. Makicome
They-burn the-children of Kololac-family the-grass of forest-our. We-do-not-like (it)
amu mepelo Okiek timdo ne tinye tukuk ee kiome,
for they-do-not-burn the-Dorobo the-forest which it-contains the-things which we-eat,
ngut ne mii pasanet ap sehemik:ngut kololio taptet ne
also where there-is the-honey-barrel of the-bees; also it-is-burned the-flower which
ome sehemik.
they-eat the-bees.

(The children of the Kolelac family are in the habit of burning the grass beside our forest. We disapprove of this, for the Dorobo do not burn the forest which contains the things they eat, and where they keep their honey-barrels; moreover, grass-burning destroys the flowers from which the bees get their honey.) The Dorobo in fact love their trees, and with these very practical reasons for not destroying them, it is absurd to accuse them of what amounts to an anti-social practice among themselves. Nor did the forest itself either in 1927 or in 1939 show signs of the alleged wanton destruction by fire attributed by some to the Dorobo.

Although wild honey is to be found in hollow trees and holes in rocks, the Dorobo do not rely on such chance finds for their supply, though they will eat it if necessary. They rely on the honey which they get from their own honey-barrels.

They recognize four varieties of bee:

Sehemik, social bees, Apis mellifera, the honey-producing bees which live in hollow trees and honey-barrels.

Imeiik, solitary bees, Osmia, which live in trees and hollow stems of shrubs and make honey.

Kosomek, earth bees, Halictus, slightly larger bees which live in holes in the ground and make honey.

Kiptulonik, mason bees, Chalicodoma, which live in cells made of a sort of cement formed of earth, minute stones, and their own saliva. These are very small bees, which make only a small amount of honey, and are not found in the forest, but in Soiin below the escarpment.

The Nandi word *kulumbenik* meaning another variety of bee, is used by the Dorobo, not of bees, but of small stinging insects like mosquitoes.

The bees that provide the Dorobo with their honey are the *sehemik*, of which there are, they say, three kinds: the queen, the workers, and the drones. The queen, *kamet ap sehemik* or "the mother of the bees", is

described as *cemnennenswet*, i. e. narrow-waisted; she is bigger than the others, with a large head and body and no sting. The workers, called simply *sekemik*, "bees", are considered to be males [8], and the Dorobo say that all the male bees in a swarm fertilize the queen. The queen lives inside the swarm surrounded by the bees, and never goes outside it, being fed by the workers with the honey they make, and she lays her eggs in the fresh combs before any honey has been deposited in them. The workers make honey, according to the Dorobo, by eating the 'water' (*pek*) of the flowers, which they vomit into the empty combs when they return to the swarm [9]. A comb is made (or built, *tec mpokiet* = build the comb) by the mouths of the bees with the help of another substance which they get also from flowers; and from the same source they get wax (*temeniet*) which they bring in on their feet, and use to close up openings in the hive [10]. This is what the Dorobo say. The drone, on the other hand is considered to be a female which does no work and has no sting. The drones just fly about "playing", and as far as the Dorobo can see perform no useful work. They just eat up the honey and after a time the workers kill them, *kotil kätit*, "they cut their necks", so that they shall not eat the whole supply of honey [11]. Terms used to describe bees are:

Kamet = queen (lit. mother).
Sekemik = workers (sing. *sekemiat*).
Kapurenik = drones (sing. *kapuriot*).
Uarek = young bees, grubs (sing. *uarwet*).
Ololoiyet = swarm.
Mpokiet, *Wanasiet* = Empty comb, either new and unused, or old.
Kipiririitiet = comb full of honey.

The Dorobo seem to have no idea of the length of a bee's life, which in Europe may amount to some seven months in the case of bees born in the autumn.

Honey-barrels or hives, *pasanet*, are made of slats or of hollowed-out logs and placed in trees for the bees to swarm in. Once a swarm has entered it is considered to belong to the owner to the barrel. If it stays for a long time (the Dorobo say) it may be inherited by the owner's son; but if it should go from one man's barrel into another's, nothing is done, for though the Dorobo say that their bees get to know them, they do not claim to be able to control their movements. And if a swarm deserts a barrel, the owner just waits till another swarm comes to it. The commoner type of honey-barrel is

[8] The workers are really females whose ovaries have become modified so that they do not normally produce eggs.

[9] This is not very far short of the truth, for bees take into their crops a substance called nectar from the flowers and deposit it in the comb. By the action of their saliva, which produces a chemical change, the nectar becomes honey, and is regurgitated into the cells for storage or for feeding the grubs. (Cf. article Bee in the Encyclopaedia Britannica, ed. 11, by Prof. G. H. CARPENTER.)

[10] Wax is really secreted by special cells in the abdomen of the worker bees.

[11] Drones are in reality the males which mate with the queen. When the mating season is over and food is getting scarce, they are killed and thrown out by the workers.

9:Hobley G-S (ca. 1900) 1903 FL6 Dorobo FL6

They are said to be very prolific, having families of eight to ten children, but the infant mortality is so extremely heavy that their numbers increase very slowly: this mortality is probably due to the cold, damp climate of the Mau Forests, which are at an altitude ranging from 7,000 to 9,000 feet. 163 165 [132] [133]

Their peace ceremony consists of cutting off a dog's ears, and the contracting parties then spatter one another with the blood. 128 [231]

They live principally on Colobus and other monkeys, which they shoot in the forest: At certain seasons, however, they go and hunt big game on the plains, known as the Rangata Nyuki; they wait till the grass is dry, and then burn it to facilitate their hunting. They use poisoned arrows for big game, and unpoisoned ones for monkeys, &c. They train dogs to assist in their hunting, and are very keen to get young dogs for the purpose. They told me that they first gave the dog certain medicine, and the animal could then track game. 224 [262] [411] [231]

They are very clever elephant hunters, and informed me that when they came across an elephant they went off and bathed and scrubbed themselves very carefully to remove all trace of the human scent, and that they were then able to approach a sleeping elephant and spear it with a poisoned dart. [515] [825]

They are most expert in the use of a firestick. The fire is produced in the ordinary way by the friction of one stick spun round vertically in a depression in another piece of wood, which is held firm between the bare feet of the operator; the lower piece of wood appeared to be the juniper of Mau. 372 [824]

A small vocabulary of their language is appended on the opposite page. They use the Nandi numerals. 197 199

The prefix "ki," and the suffixes "ei," "it," and "ek," are, I think, brought in from the Nandi language, but most of the roots will be found to be quite distinct. Many of the tribe can only speak Nandi, and when collecting this vocabulary in many cases they appeared to have forgotten the Oggiek or Omotik word but gave the Nandi word, and had to consult among themselves and, as it were, hunt up the proper word. The language is thus evidently dropping into such disuse that it will probably become quite extinct in the near future. [193] [182]

C. W. HOBLEY.

[34]

12:Dundas G-5 (ca. 1900) 1908 FL6 Dorobo FL6
Kikuyu FL10
Masai FL12

Supi is said to have instructed the Dorobo to bring him a pair of sandals made of leather having hair on both sides, the Masai to bring him a bull, the dung of which was pure white, and the Kikuyu an animal called Huko (a burrowing rat or mole).

The Dorobo cut off the ears of a donkey, and produced these as the required sandals before Supi; the Masai brought a bull fed on milk only; and the Kikuyu the animal called Huko.

Supi then told each tribe to take its respective charm and to attack the enemy separately and at different points.

The Masai, marching into Kikuyu from Naivasha, fell upon the strangers first, and taking all their stock drove them on to the Kikuyu, who in their turn drove them on to the Dorobo, by whom they were finally routed.

The Somali or Galla were thus disposed of, and only by the name Iregi, which was given to the generation that fought with and expelled them, and by a few women of their tribe, taken prisoners by the Dorobo, are we reminded of their settlements in Kikuyu. Amongst these prisoners may be mentioned an old woman called Barabio, who is still alive and resides in one of Burgo's villages. She was formerly Chief Karuri's nurse.

Needless to say the Masai kept all the cattle which they captured, and this caused a rupture between them and the Dorobo and Kikuyu, who joined forces and waged war on them. After a truce had been made the Dorobo and Kikuyu fought amongst themselves.

If the Kikuyu were to live and increase they had to cultivate the ground, and to do so they were obliged to destroy the forests. The very existence, however, of the Dorobo depended on the preservation of the forests, and hence arose a struggle for survival, which allowed of no compromise and could have but one end.*

In an incredibly short time the great primæval forests, the home of the Dorobo, were destroyed, and with them this interesting people ceased to exist as a tribe. Deprived of the means of living, many died, some took to cultivation, whilst the majority migrated to other regions, where they formed small colonies, such as are to be found at Baringo, Naivasha, Ravine, Kijabe, on Laikipia and Mau, at Taveta, in German East Africa, and even, it is said, in places as remote as Kismayu—(the clan that went to this last place was the Agumba). This scattering of the tribe accounts for the peculiar fact that Dorobo living in widely different localities speak the same language.† The Baringo, Naivasha, Kijabe, and Ravine Dorobo, and those of similar colonies will, if questioned as to where they come from, usually mention Kururuma and Kairau‡ as the birthplace of their fathers.

As regards the origin of this interesting tribe, we know little or nothing. There appear to have been two branches, the Agumba and the Okiek: the former hunted the game on the plains, the latter in the forests. They lived in pits dug in the ground and covered over with leaves of the wild banana; these pits may to this day be seen anywhere in the Kikuyu country, though of course they become more numerous the nearer one approaches the forest. They are also said to have buried their

* The first Kikuyu to come into the country appear to have been almost without exception pastoral, and they accordingly did not interfere at all with the Dorobo. The later arrivals, who seem to have possessed less stock, purchased from individual Dorobo the right to certain pieces of land or forest. For some reason or other just about the time the Somali or Galla were driven out, a sudden very pressing demand for grain appears to have arisen amongst the Kikuyu; this may have been due to one of two causes—the Kikuyu may have lost through sickness a large amount of stock, or there may have been just at this time a sudden influx of agricultural natives.

† Nandi. (In colonies not in touch with Nandi-speaking tribes, the younger generation is rapidly forgetting this language.)

‡ The country lying between the Rivers Boyo and Mathyoya in Kikuyu

important aspect is, I fear, irrecoverable. I have been in the forest in both wet and dry seasons, and while trapping is still carried on, I could see no sign of hunting (i.e. shooting), and the description of a hunt is from narration.[1] Fear of a government which forbids hunting, and has of late itself hunted the Dorobo, has, I think, effectually sealed the lips of one or two who would normally have spoken on the subject. My informants, however, did say that sexual intercourse was forbidden before setting out on a hunt, though not before or during the process of trapping. In hunting there is an element of personal danger and of uncertainty as to success; magic helps to give confidence, and abstinence to avert ill-luck. In trapping the process is mechanical, largely a matter of technological skill, and with little danger to the trapper, who is sure to catch something sooner or later.

On the other hand, it is believed that both *Asis* (god) and the *chesowiloi* (both the good ancestral and the bad elemental) can influence a man's hunting, and before starting out to set a trap, he will say:

Asis, ipïïyech panyek,
God, give-us-enough meat,

or,

Chesowilōk, okónech tiony ne kipare.
The-spirits, give-us a-beast which we-may-kill.

Honey (*kumiat*) is an important article of Dorobo diet, and provides both food and intoxicant: it is to them what milk is to a pastoral people. It is not stuff that can be picked up anywhere, but requires a certain technique, and, above all, the presence of bees in a suitable place. As, therefore, it has an actual social value, so it has acquired a ritual value, and certain observances are necessary if the supply of honey is not to fail. First, you must have your bees, and a man who has put up a new honey-barrel must take steps to ensure that it is inhabited. This he does by calling out, in an unnatural high-pitched voice, "Bees, bees, all you who are in this country, Come now and make honey here."

[1] Leopards, as already mentioned, are killed occasionally when they become aggressive and threaten livestock; but there are no organized leopard hunts, and in any case leopards are vermin.

come now and make honey here." Then, blood and fruit must not be eaten on the same day as honey, nor must bits of the comb be left lying about; they must be carefully covered up. The first of these prohibitions is analogous to the Nandi avoidance of meat and milk on the same day; the second, though the Dorobo say it is done "so that other people shall not see it," is also due to the ritual value of honey, and the consequent necessity of showing respect towards it. 000 262

In the ritual treatment of certain actions the use of certain materials is essential if the ritual is to be effective. Thus, a homicide must be rubbed with *eiyat*, the undigested grass from the stomach of a goat or sheep, and he must also be oiled with 'butter' (milk shaken in a gourd till it has gone oily and semi-solid); an unmarried girl who has had a child must also be rubbed with *eiyat*; a sick person whose illness is due to witchcraft must be oiled with goat's fat or butter; and a man who has killed an enemy must paint his face with five stripes of white earth—one across the forehead. 789 825 [682] [848] [754] 789 [726] [823]

[P.197, B]

one down each side of the nose, and one down the centre of each cheek. 789 [726] [823]

Now it seems that a particular material is not always essential, i.e. for a homicide either a goat or a sheep may be killed to get the *eiyat*, and a sick man may be anointed either with goat's fat or with butter (though it must be a she-goat). An alternative is thus sometimes just as effective. But an essential feature is that the remedy must be something that is not easy to obtain; till quite recently, few Dorobo had any goats, sheep, or cattle from which they could get the necessary fat, *eiyat*, or butter, and even now many still lack them; nor does anybody keep a permanent stock of white earth in his hut. The whole procedure is an act of faith as much as anything else, and entails a possibly laborious search for the necessary material. There is also an economic implication, for when people have no stock they must buy the animals they need, so that into what might seem to be a purely ritual transaction, enters an element of business. 789 825 [231] 437

/231 cont./

621 [192] [171] to dobonog, i.e., huts of the unmarried men, in contrast to the aija to daĩma, the camp of the married. Therefore here, too, we find, even in the name, a separation into kraal of the married and kraal of the warriors, similar to the one mentioned for the Masai.

171 353 415 237 283 352 412 The arrangement of the interior of the hut, like the form itself, resembles that of the Masai; its furnishings, however, are even sparser. A honey pot (madjé, madjeog), a gourd bottle (mget) for drinking water and honey beer, a leather bag (lebenu, lebenua) for collecting honey, a larger one (ndaro, ndareraũg) for water, a few earthen pots, larger ones (idug, idia) and smaller ones (ruguba, ruguba) for cooking, a couple of wooden bowls (tagi), a rope cut out of an animal skin (scharu, scháruga) to tie up the slain meat, a cord twisted out of the bark fibers of the baobab (Adansonia digitata) for the drawing up and letting down of the beehives hung in trees (merihgo), along with a few dehaired skins (fulót) that serve as beds, as well as ax (haũo, hauereg) and knife (pandyug), constitute the 492 principal household equipment. In a few huts one also finds the en 412 dereta /pack-holders/ of the Masai, here called lalaho (leleweg), 413 as well as a hammer (giribét) for forging and a chisel for designing 177 the arrow points (mad, mara), and finally that sharpened small piece of sheet iron serving as razor-knife (herá, hereré). The entire family, 592 namely, husband, wife or wives, and the uncircumcised children, live in one /232/ hut. Men and boys, however, are usually out.

512 [224] [264] [825] The day begins even before daybreak for the hunting men. They set out with a snack consisting of a little piece of boiled or roasted meat, so that the first light of day already finds them in the hunting grounds. The game now behaves best; as they say, it then feeds more eagerly and carelessly than a few hours later, when the sun already becomes annoying to it. At daybreak women and children leave the huts; firewood and water are carried up in order to cook the meat fetched from a larder located in a nearby tree. The meat

[251] is kept there and not in the camp, so that it hangs in the air and 512 thus remains fresh longer. After that the morning meal is eaten. 264 Actually the Wandorobo do not have definite mealtimes: as long as there is something edible they simply eat as long as they can.

/238 cont./

539 533 An overheard text is: "If I were a bird that is sitting beside the river and a zebra came to drink, I would, in the little bird's place, kiss (or bite) it, because I love it very much. But I am big and therefore can not."

512 Around ten o'clock at the latest the merriment reaches its end, and the camp is finally wrapped in silence.

• 825 The statement of the Wandorobo, according to which it is still supposed to have never happened that human beings have been killed by predatory animals within the camp seems remarkable. They [189] therefore do not fear them at all and believe themselves safe from them because of their magic medicines, some of which, according to popular belief, keep the wild animals far away, while others have the effect of the cap of invisibility.

III.

601 Kinship designations and terms of address.

The kinship designations are the following:

Father: aba or baba.
Mother: jējo or ea.
My wife: mai totuan.
My brother: bidjog uan.
My sister: bidjot uan.
Half brother: weku baba.
Half sister: wetu baba.
Brother of the father: bidjog e baba.
Sister of the father: bidjot baba.
Brother of the mother: bidjog ea.
Sister of the mother: bidjot ea.
Son of the father's brother: weku bidjog baba.
Son of the father's sister: weku bidjot baba.
Daughter of the father's brother: wetu bidjog baba.
Daughter of the father's sister: wetu bidjot baba.
Son of the mother's brother: weku agogeach.
Son of the mother's sister: weku bidjot ea.

/241 cont./

V.

000 Pregnancy. -- Behavior of the pregnant woman and her husband. -- Care and treatment of the pregnant woman, the woman in labor, and the woman in childbed. -- Killing newborn children. -- Fertility. -- Child mortality.

843 [842] [824] The opinion that the author heard expressed a number of times by Aá-Wandorobo, that pregnancy is more or less bound up with a definite time of year, and, to be sure, in such a way that either conception takes place at blossom time or birth takes place at the time of the fruitage of the poisonous tree Acocanthera abyssinica, appears surprising.

[224] /242/ During his wife's pregnancy the husband does not pursue a game animal shot at in hunting, because it is believed that the latter, at his approach, will resist the poison and escape. Therefore, after he has shot an animal, he returns to the camp and from there sends another man out to look for the animal. The pregnant woman
• [825] may not be beaten. Neither he nor the pregnant wife may step over a procession of migrating ants. She is forbidden to eat meat from a wild animal that died or was killed by a predatory animal, likewise soup, and furthermore honey in which dead bee larvae are found. She must avoid coming near a chameleon or a snake, or exposing herself to the heat of the sun for any length of time. All this, in the opinion of the Aá, would harm the fetus.

[302] [302] If the woman visits another camp, she smears her forehead with white clay beforehand in order to announce her condition to its occupants. On the way there she is accompanied by a little girl,
[858] [825] whom she leads by the hand. As the reason for this, the people say that a miscarriage would take place if the woman went without a girl and on the way saw the previously mentioned weaver bird or heard its dil-dil-dil calls. A woman pregnant for the first time is
843 431 given gifts by all the people (men, women, boys, girls) of the camp and her friends in the neighboring camps at about the middle of her pregnancy. She is presented with a leather apron, a pair of ear pendants, beads, chains, or even a head of small livestock.

/311 cont./

284 They particularly value the entrails and also do not scorn the meat of
282 fallen or sick lion animals; indeed, even the skin of elephant, rhinoceros, and hippopotamus is eaten roasted. As bushbabies, i.e., love
[123] edible, the Wandorobo regard elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus,
[439] pigs, zebras, all cloven-footed animals from the giraffe to the tiny dwarf antelope, hares, rock rabbits, and, of the birds, the ostrich, which, however, they shoot only on account of its feathers, which the Masai like to buy for the manufacture of the war head-ornaments. They do not hunt monkeys and lower animals, because they do not relish their meat.

284 On the day before the new moon, and in places also on the seventeenth day, the ol oriogi, no one goes hunting because, according to popular belief, one would not kill anything on the former day, whereas on the latter the bow would break. The red-headed Amplerus melanocrix is regarded as unlucky for the hunter. If the hunter sees it along the way he returns to camp immediately and does not leave it again until several hours later, in order to try his luck anew.

[65] [271]

56 284 171 [78] Like the warriors of the Masai, the elders of the Wandorobo also hold their meat meals in the forest. Whereas among the former, however, these are a result of the food rules, according to which the warrior may not eat meat in the kraal, among the latter it is only a matter of observing an ancient custom for which there is no longer any reason today, since the unmarried man usually eats his meat food in the hut. On the other hand, there is greater justification for consuming the ox daily, where they strengthen themselves by a plentiful eating of meat for a larger hunting expedition for more distant and at the same time dangerous game, such as elephants and buffalo. The many spices and stimulants that we become acquainted with among the Masai are also used by the Wandorobo, but to a far lesser extent. They do not divide up into fellowships for the meals in the bush, but only for the hunting expeditions. Each company, as a rule, consists of four men and is called a oreg, in which one recognizes the pronominal word ore with. The booty is divided among the participants in equal parts. If an individual hunter or an e dinet spends the night in a strange camp, the host is given a fleeing and a hind leg of the hunting booty.

[264] [274] [263] [274] 56 284

[374]

/??? cont./

334. ɔ̀ mwɔ́ndʒà (Phyllanthus spec.). The ol ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ places a twig of it close beside the skin game as protective magic to prevent birds from circling above the animal and thus attracting other people.

335. ol mwɔ́ndʒà (Vernonia cinerascens). This plant serves the ol ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ as protective magic against lions.

336. ol mwɔ́ŋgà (Phyllanthus). Shield hoops are made from the branches.

337. ɔ̀ ndʒíkà. Milk fodder for cows.

338. ol ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ (Ficus sycomorus L.). A decoction of two hand-sized pieces of bark is drunk for diarrhoea.

339. ol ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ŋ́ (Euphorbia spec.). Cows are said to die after eating this plant.

340. ol ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ndʒɔ́ | ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ (Plumbago zeylanica L.). The ornamental scars on the faces of women are produced by cauterizing with the caustic root juice.

341. ol ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ndʒɔ́ | ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ (Thunbergia alata Bojer). The sweet scabbard is dyed with the red root juice.

342. ol ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ŋ́.

343. ol ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ŋ́ (Cyperus spec.). Fodder grass for small livestock. The calcicolic roots are eaten with special liking by guinea fowl.

344. ol ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ŋ́ | ol ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ŋ́ (Hyllingia alba Nees.) is a good fodder grass that is especially valued for donkeys.

/???/ 345. ol ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ŋ́ | ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ŋ́ = ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ŋ́.

346. ol ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ŋ́ (Spermacoce radicata R. Br.). Good fodder grass.

347. ol ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ŋ́ = ol ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ŋ́ (Phyllanthus).

348. ol ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ŋ́ kere.

349. ol ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ŋ́ ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ŋ́.

350. ol ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ŋ́ (1)

1. The blood also called Hephasia chymicira
A. Kich. ol ɔ́ɔ́ŋ́ɔ́ŋ́

(Glycine javanica L.). Good fodder for small livestock.

/373 cont./

M 824 394. ol oja bark - ol oja bark.

395. ol ojedgallai (Sesbania aegyptiaca Poir.). The decoction of a piece of bark approximately ten inches square in size is given the cow to hasten the expulsion of the afterbirth, if this is protracted for an abnormally long time.

396. ol okirikai. The decoction of an approximately fist-sized piece of bark is regarded as loosening for catarrh.

D [824] 397. ol omoj. Masai sometimes. El dorobo often. stick a branch of this on either side of the hut door as protective magic against predatory animals.

D M • [825] [789] 398. ol tarik. Valued by the El dorobo as a good honey plant.

399. ol oborua (Maesa lanceolata Forsk.). A nerve-stimulating agent of the warriors. They drink the decoction of approximately seven finger-sized pieces of the pungent-tasting root at the ol bul meals, as desired.

400. ol oborok. The berries are edible.

401. ol tiki (Andropogon Schoenanthus). The livestock do not like the grass, because of its lemon smell. To please the cows is

402. ol olukai - ol giroule (Haemanthus nov. spec.).

403. ol keke oiele (Justicia matammensis). Good fodder for small livestock.

M [825] 404. ol lelluok (Cissus Paraguensis Gilg). Warriors en route and especially during the finest meals like to put the vines into the bed padding, because they are said to keep away insects.

M 824 301 405. ol orowil kate (Justicia calcarata Harbet.). Fragrant neckbands are twined out of the bark bast, smelling like vanilla.

406. ol orowil kitok (Justicia Fischeri Lindau.). Use like that of the preceding.

407. ol orowil l ol olick (Ageratum conyzoides L.). Use like that of the preceding.

D 824 301 408. ol orowil l ol dorobo (Newtoniantha masaii Kl.). The El dorobo make fragrant neckbands out of the scraped bark.

409. olig oaida kitok. Good fodder for goats.

M 824 D 824 410. olig oaida gutuk (Barleria ventricosa Nees.). El dorobo make arrow shafts from the branches.

1h Meijer--514 C-S (1886-ca.1908) 1910 FLIS Masai FLIS
Dorobo FL6

Appendix II.

Names of the principal animal-species.

DMD 128

In the following I am giving a series of animal names: many only in the Masai language: others, for which the El dorobo have still further designations, also in their particular idiom. Moreover, I was able to discover a number of obsolete words now generally or locally, permanently or temporarily, out of use (1).

1. An added asterisk in the following indicates that I owe the statement concerned to the research of Herr Jaks. Dwrg.

DMD 825

Grey carrion-vulture (Neophron percnopterus (L.)):
El oiwanit ol ɔɔlɔlɛŋ' ɛlɔɔ or for short ol ɛlɔɔ = the grey one.
ol ɔɔlɔlɛŋ' = the large predatory bird.
elmolelwa 'ɔlɔrɔkɔɔlɔ.
El dorobo ɔɔ ɛlɔɔlɔ.

El oiwanit ol ɔɔlɔlɛŋ' kɔtɔ,
ol ɛlɔŋɔkɔ ɔɔlɔlɔ.
elmolelwa ɔɔ ɛlɔŋ'ɔ',
ol ɔɔlɔ' ɛlɔŋ'ɔlɔŋ' = black body.
ol ɛlɔŋ'ɔlɔŋ'.
El dorobo ɔɔ ɛlɔŋ'ɔlɔŋ'.

Monkeys: see long-tailed monkey, right monkey /ɛsɔɔsɛ/, baboon, colobus.

Ant: the small reddish brown ant (stock of the Wasukuma):
El oiwanit ɔɔ ɛl-ɛŋɔŋ'.
elmolelwa ɔ' ɛlɔl,
ɔ ɔɔlɔ'.
El dorobo 'ɔ ɛlɛŋ'ɛŋ'ɛlɔl.

The large black ant:
El oiwanit ol ɔɔlɔlɔl.

Further see Termite.

M /978/
825 Antelopes: see Eland, Hartebeest /not listed below/, Kudu, Black-heeled antelope /impala: not listed below/, Oryx, Waterbuck /not listed below/.

Zoril (Zetonyx /Ictonyx/ zorilla):
El masai: ol bŏlŏ ge.

Bee: the common wild honeybee
El masai: ol odendi.
obscurer: ol gairoi.

A stingless bee:
El masai: ol salibei (pl. es salibo).
obscurer: ol gĭdĭai (pl. el gĭdĭi).

Buffalo (Bufelus caffer (Sparrm.)):
El masai: ol dŏlgwŏn.
obscurer: ol ĝuk.
• [D29] El dorobo: 'l aŋi.

Badger: see Honey badger.

Squirrel-like animals:
[illegible] the udders of the goats.
obscurer: gĭ-ŏlŏbŏi.

Lizards: small:
El masai: ol oirir.
obscurer: ol gŏlŏlŏ (pl. el gŏlŏlŏi).

Medium-sized:
El masai: ol ŋgolosen.
obscurer: 'l ŏlŏbŏi (pl. 'l ŏlŏi).

Larger:
El masai: ol mŏŋĝi.
obscurer: ol mŏlŏi.

Elephant (Elephas africanus Blum.):
El masai: ol gĭlĭlĭ ŏlŏŋ (ol gĭlĭlĭ probably originally meant the animal; ŏlŏŋ = fat).
ol ŏlŏmŏi.
ol lŏlŏsi.
ol ŋgoroi (ol goiye = the hand: the elephant uses its trunk like a hand, therefore ol ŋgoroi means, say, the "Handerich" /handy one/ in German).
D [825] obscurer: ol ŋgĭrĭlĭ.

DM
/378 cont./
• 825 El dorobo: djăñjk (1).

1. Abyss. nage*.

Eland (Oreas oreas [Pall.]):
/379/
El masai: os ărŭ̆,
ol dŏbčălt = the bluish gray one,
El dorobo: ol gitĕrĕr.

M
825 Aardvark (Orycteropus):
El masai: en aischĭr băr,
obsolete: năgĕtĕ.

Donkey: cf. also the names given in the 2nd Part, Ch. XVIII:
El masai: ol bĕlĕndŏg, which word is said to mean "the carrier,"
ol ăndĭjă,
obsolete: ol ăndol,

Owl: general:
El masai: ol mŏtŏnj on gĭă = the ear bird of prey. This designation has been transferred from the great horned owl to all owls.
obsolete: gĭrtlingĭach.

Partridge (Pternistes and Francolinus):
El masai: eñ gĭrĭ̆ or el gĭrĭ̆ (1).

1. Cf. Hebr. Koreh.

Flea: general, without distinction as to species
El masai: es ălngĭrĭ.

Bee: general, without distinction as to species
El masai: en ĭgĭtgĭo,
obsolete: ĭbĭ(j)ŏ.

Fly: common fly and carrion fly:
El masai: ʼl ĭdjŭăñi (pl. ʼl ĭdjĭŭĭ).

Horsefly:
El masai: ol ĭlmbĭ̆ or ol gĭmbĭ̆,
further: see Tsetse.

DM /379 cont./

• 825 Flea (Pulex):
El masai: ol oisúsŭ,
obsolete: ol bĕdĕlal (pl. el bĕdĕlă),
El dorobo: ol jaňit l ol diain = the animal of the dogs.

M Frog:
825 El masai: en dŭă,
obsolete: eň ňăschăr.

Gazelle: Gazella Granti:
El masai: en dllŏ.
Gazella Thomsoni:
El masai: 'n ănănjăt.

Indian leopard /cheetah/ (Cynaelurus guttatus):
/380/
El masai: eň gĕrăsĭ = the one who tears,
ol genja l ascho = the calf-eater,
obsolete: ol mŭndălĭŏl.

Genet (Genetta pardina):
El masai: ol dŏlŭgŏ.

Giraffe (Camelopardis giraffa L.):
El masai: ol maiit = the spotted one.
ol ĭdo gĕrăgătă = the one long in lying,
obsolete: o' rŏbŭt.

DM Gnu (Connochaetes taurinus Burch. and C. albojubatus Thos.):
825 El masai: eň gŭt,
obsolete: ol bărăńgăt,
schăbălĭlĭĕ,
ol lĭĕ,
El dorobo: o' rimbol (1).

1. Cf. Hebr. re' ĕm and Assyr. rîmu = wild ox.

Hare (Lepus victoriae Thos.):
El masai: eň gitodjo,
El dorobo: ol ĭdo gĭa = long ear.

Grasshopper (migratory locust) (Schistocerca):
El masai: ol măti,
obsolete: ol mŭnjălŏlŏ,
M El dorobo: ol mŭnjălŏlŏ.
825 Honey badger (Mellivora ratel):
El masai: ol bĕlĕă.

D
M
/380 cont./
• 825 Dog (house dog) (Canis):
El masai: ol dĭă,
obsolete: 'lĕbă (2).

2. Cf. Hebr. keleb and Assyr. kal-bu = dog.

El dorobo: os sĭrătăn.
Centipede:
El masai: eń gŏlŏră os sĭrgŏn.
Hyena, spotted (Hyaena crocuta Erxl.):
El masai: ol nŏdjĭnĕ,
ol ĕlĕmbĕsch,
obsolete: ol gŏnŏl,
sĕrnăńgŭsch,
El dorobo: en jălŏs.
M
825 Striped (Hyaena striata and H. Schillingsi):
El masai: en gŭńgărŭ ĕmĭlĭń,
obsolete: rŭmŭrŭm.
/381/
Hyena dog (Lycaon pictus Temm.):
El masai: ol oibor gidoño = white tail,
os sĭjăn.
Hedgehog (Erinaceus albiventris Wagn.):
El masai: en jŏlĭs,
obsolete: băńgĕbăń.
Polecat: see Zoril.
Camel:
El masai: en dŏmĕs,
en dămĕs.
Crocodile (Crocodilus vulgaris Cuv.):
El masai: ol ginjań,
obsolete: ol ŏgŏlŏrĭŏń.
Louse (Pediculus capitis de Geer):
El masai: 'l ăhĕ,
obsolete: ńgŏmĕă.

M 825 /382 cont./

Night monkey, long-eared maki (Galago):
El masai: ol gĭnjăñ ngĭrĭ = the meat eater, because it likes to go to the hung meat,
e 'bŭrĭschŏ ol bul = the ol bul thief, because it likes to steal some of the pieces of meat at the ol bul.

Rhinoceros (Rhinoceros bicornis L.):
El masai: e 'mŭnj,
e 'rĕr,
eñ gŏmbĭlŏ,
ol jăñĭtŏ ñĭro,
obsolete: es sĕrŭñŭă,
gŏmbĭrĕ,
D [825] El dorobo: es sĭgĭndĭrĕ.

Rhinoceros beetle:
El masai: ol ĕmŭnjŭ.

Hippopotamus (Hippopotamus amphibius L.):
El masai: ol mĭkăŭ (1),

1. Cf. Assyr. ma-ak-ka-nu-ú, literally, animal of southern Egypt.

bărkĭlĕmbĕ,
obsolete: dĭrgĭlĕmbĕ.

Baboon (Papio Cercopithecus):
El masai: ol dŏĭĭl,
obsolete: ol gŏwăsĭŏ,
D [825] El dorobo: 'l ŏtĭm.

Pelican (Pelecanus rufescens Gm.):
El masai: en dĕăñĭ.

Guinea hen (Numida):
El masai: ol gĭlĕsŭrĕ,
ol gĕrĕsŭrĕ.

M
825 /382 cont./
Horse (Equus):
El masai: em bártă or em pártă (2),

2. Cf. the ancient Semitic root par = to run.*

obsolete: ol gijábĭ (el gíjab).
D
• [825] Raven (Corvus scapulatus Daud. and Corvultur albicollis Lath.):
El masai: ol górŭk (3),

3. Cf. Arabic górab, Hebr. ʿoreb.

obsolete: o 'rógĕlă,
/383/
El dorobo: ol oibórŭŏ.
Jackal (Canis variegatus Cretchm.):
D
[825] El masai: en dérasch,
en ditésĭlă,
obsolete: em bárĭĕ,
ol gúsch 'ă,
El dorobo: em bárĭĕ.
Turtle (Testudo):
El masai: ol oigúmă,
obsolete: ol jánĭtŏ dórŏb.
Snake (1):

1. A legendary serpent in the myths is called klĭĕngol.

in general, without differentiation of species:
El masai: ol ásŭrai,
eŋ gĕn' eŋ gob (eŋ gĕne = leather strap),
ol jánĭtŏ l oŋ gódjit = the animal in the grass,
obsolete: ol árasŭmĕ.

D M 825

/383 cont./

Hyrax (Dendrohyrax and Procavia):
El masai: eń gíně os soito = the cliff goat,
eń gĭnjŭnjur,
El dorobo: nĕmăsĭ.

M 825

Kudu (Strepsiceros):
El masai: ol mĭlŏ (2),

2. In Darfur: bāl.

obsolete: ol dăngĕgĭ.
Scaly anteater (Manis temmincki Smuts):
El masai: en dĭbŏĭ.
Swallow (Hirundo):
El masai: os sĕrămbălăńĭ,
obsolete: sĕrŏljă.
Colobus, white-tailed (Colobus caudatus):
El masai: ol gŏrŏĭ.
Serval (Felis serval):
El masai: es sĭmăńgŏr.
Scorpion:
El masai: eń gŏlŏwă,
obsolete: en dĕhgĕl,
D [825] El dorobo: en jŏńgŏrŏrŏ.
Oryx (Oryx callotis Thos.):
El masai: ol gĕmăsŏrŏk (ol gema = fire, orok = black),
obsolete: sărlă.
/384/
Spider: general:
El masai: es sŭrŭsŭrĭ,
obsolete: es sĭrlăndĕt.
Porcupine (Hystrix africae-australis):
El masai: os sŭsă,
oiaiai.

D
M
• 825

/384 cont./

Ostrich (Struthio molybdophanes):
El masai: es sidái,
en jíit,
El dorobo: ol janíto l obír.

M
825

Dove (Columba):
El masai: en dúrgúlú (1),

1. Cf. Hebr. tôr and Somali: gúlé.

en dárágwai, named after the en dárágwá tree, whose fruits it likes to eat.

Termite:
El masai: ol airogai,
obsolete: 'l ēródjá.

Tsetse (Glossina morsitans):
El masai: *en dórobó (2).*

2. Cf. Hebr. 'arob, which, according to 2nd Moses /Exodus/ 8, 16 ff., Jahve sends into Egypt as the fourth plague. "With the land of Gosen /Goshen/, however, in which my people dwell, I shall make an exception, so that no 'arob shall appear there, etc." Thus, the land of Gosen was free of the tsetse, which is why the livestock-raising Hebrews chose it as their residence. This must certainly be the oldest report of the tsetse fly still today generally feared in Africa for cattle and solipeds.

A species of weaver bird (Anaplectes melanotis):
El masai: ol dílŏ,
ol dáridígí.

Wild pig (Potamochoerus africanus Schreb.):
El masai: ol bítír,
eń gómbál,
eń gúnjaí.

M
D
• 825

/384 cont./

obsolete: e 'rŏgŏbĕ́,
o 'rĭngălĕ́,
El dorobo: o 'rĭngălĕ́.

Mole (Georhynchus Schillingsi Mtsch.):
El masai: ol gĭrŭmŭ́,
obsolete: ol gĕrŏdjūk.

Zebra (Equus Böhmi Mtsch.):
El masai: ol ŏltĭgŏ́.

/385/

obsolete: 'l ŏăĭmắn,
ol ŏi-sĕ́rĕ = the striped one,
El dorobo: ol ăĭmắnă.

M
825 Zebra mongoose (Crossarchus fasciatus):
El masai: ol gĭschŏrĕ́n.

Tick: of dogs:
El masai: ol dĭắnă l ol diain.

-- Of goats (reddish brown):
El masai: ol mắhĕ́rĭ nădắ.

— Of cattle (spotted yellow or striped yellow on the legs):
El masai: ol mắhĕ́rĭ bŏs.

-- Of human beings:
El masai: en dĭnŭ́rĭ jămŏ́n.